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***THE TWO NATIONALIST SUFIS, HAMZA SHINWARI AND  
SHAH LATIF BHITAI***

Dr. Abaseen Yousafzai\*

Tufail Ahmad Zaryab Yousafzai\*\*

**ABSTRACT**

Nationalism is the soul of a nation. No nation may survive without this natural phenomenon. It is the tool of identity. The concept of the nationalism was introduced in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. But as we know that literature is the way of expression. The nationalist used literature for their nationalist movements in the pre historic period. But here in this region the poets have used their poetic visions for their nations. Though their languages are not the same but their views are the same for their nation because the region is same the land is same. In those poets the two Sufis, Shah Latif and Hamza Shinwari have the unique style because they both are the Sufis and they also have the vision of nationalism in their poetry. We will discuss here that aspect of their poetry with reference to their own style. Because the both mentioned poets are Sufis but not culturally and identically same.

**Key words:** Nation, Nationalism, Patriotism, Sufism, Identity , Cultural and Geographical Identity.

Nationalism is the core value of the humane. Everyone has the great attachment to his nation and homeland. Nationalism and patriotism both are the part of the faith for a nation. Nationalism is the symbol of identity and survival. And the poets of a nation

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express their nationalistic views in their own style. We will explore this view in the context of the Hamza Shinwari and Shah Latif's poetry. First we are going to discuss what a nation is and what the nationalism means? And its different kinds Then we will relate nationalism to the literature especially to the poetry of the two Sufis, Hamza Shinwari and Shah Latif. They have both the theme of Sufism and nationalism in their poetry with the unique style.

The humane are related to his own homeland. It is a fact that every man has great affection to his homeland. the Geography is the main gravity of the unity of a nation. Everyone who lives in a special territory love his nation. These feelings belong to the nationalism concept. Nation is a specific terminology for a population which has same historical background ,common territory ,common language, same myths and memories, same ethnicity and culture, a common tradition and common socio economic and legal rights. Nationalism has been considered as a soul and spiritual concept or moral conscious by most of the scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1882 Ernest Renan has asserted his opinion about nation.

“A nation, he said, has a soul, an intellectual foundation, which consists of two things: first of all, a people must have shared a common history; secondly, a people must possess the will and desire to live as one”.<sup>1</sup>

This ideology was not only in the west but also in the east.

Soekarno also states that

"A nation is a unity of attitudes which derives from a unity of historical experience."<sup>2</sup> Nationalism, from his point of view,

"[Nationalism] is the conviction, the consciousness of a people that they are united in one group, one nation."<sup>3</sup>

Nationalism is based on the ideology which premises the individual's faithfulness and devotion to the nation exceed other individual or group interests.

According to the encyclopedia Britannica:

“Nationalism is a modern movement. Throughout history people have been attached to their native soil, to the traditions of

their parents, and to established territorial authorities; but it was not until the end of the 18th century that nationalism began to be a generally recognized sentiment molding public and private life and one of the great, if not the greatest, single determining factors of modern history. Because of its dynamic vitality and its all-pervading character, nationalism is often thought to be very old; sometimes it is mistakenly regarded as a permanent factor in political behavior”<sup>4</sup>.

It is natural phenomenon that everyone wish to be organize in a special group for the sake of their self-interest and aims from the very beginning of the civilization, and that is the concept of Nationalism which is considered too much important in the humane history.

“People who speak the same language, share the same ethnicity or faith, or happen to be like-minded politically, or any combination of those things, might want to have their own country and a government of their choosing, which represents the things they wish to preserve, emphasize, and grow”<sup>5</sup>.

In discussing the roots of nationalism, Hans Kohn remarks that Nationalism is a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state. A deep attachment to one's native soil, to local traditions and to established territorial authority has existed in varying strength throughout history.<sup>6</sup>

The well-known American nationalist theoretician, Carlton Hayes, trying not to moor the word "nation" to any exact dictionary definition<sup>7</sup>, states that:

"In simplest terms, nationalism may be defined as fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality".<sup>8</sup>

To understand the matter properly, some explanation of the term nationality is required. The word nationality, according to Hayes:

"[Nationality] Derives from the Latin Natio, implying a common racial descent, but few, if any, modern nationalities consist of a distinctive 'race' in the biological sense."<sup>9</sup>

The positive aspects of nationalism are stated by Mutaharri as:

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“It [Nationalism] can lead to better integration among the members of a single nation. People of the same nationality may have a better understanding of one another and consequently better relations between themselves. When expressed in a positive way, nationalist sentiments can encourage the people of a nation to love their homeland and to serve each other and their country in ways that are noble”<sup>10</sup>.

Nationalism may obviously relate to a community, cultural, social, religious or ethical ranks. These commonly defined aspects of nations are going to classify the Nationalism indifferent types, as stated by Louis Wirth:

- **Ethnic Nationalism:** where the nation is defined in terms of ethnicity and descent from previous generations. It also includes the idea of a culture shared between members of the group, and usually a shared language.
- **Civic Nationalism:** where the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry and from the degree to which it represents the "will of the people".
- **State Nationalism:** a variant of Civic Nationalism, where the nation is assumed to be a community of those who contribute to the maintenance and strength of the state, and that the individual exists in the community expressly to contribute to this goal. This often results in Fascism.
- **Expansionist Nationalism:** a radical form of imperialism (and not really true Nationalism at all) that incorporates autonomous, patriotic sentiments with a belief in expansionism, usually by military aggression, e.g. Nazism (or Nationalist-Socialism) in Germany.
- **Romantic Nationalism:** a form of Ethnic Nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy as a natural (or "organic") consequence and expression of the nation. It relies upon the existence of a historical ethnic

culture which meets the romantic ideal (folklore developed as a Romantic Nationalist concept).

- **Cultural Nationalism:** where the nation is defined by shared culture, and neither purely civic nor purely ethnic. Chinese nationalism is an example of Cultural Nationalism, partly because of the many national minorities within China.
- **Third World Nationalism:** where nationalist sentiments result from resistance to colonial domination in order to survive and retain a national identity.
- **Liberal Nationalism:** where it is claimed that individuals need a national identity in order to lead meaningful, autonomous lives, and that liberal democracies need national identity in order to function properly.
- **Religious Nationalism:** where a shared religion can be seen to contribute to a sense of national unity, and a common bond among the citizens of the nation.
- **Pan-Nationalism:** where Ethnic or Cultural Nationalism applies to a nation which is itself a cluster of related ethnic groups and cultures (such as the Turkic peoples).
- **Diaspora Nationalism:** where there is nationalist feeling among a diaspora, (an ethnic population living outside their traditional homelands) e.g. the Irish in the United States, the Jews in the United States and elsewhere, etc.
- **Stateless Nationalism:** where an ethnic or cultural minority within a nation-state seeks independence on nationalist grounds (e.g. the Catalans and Basques in Spain).
- **National Conservatism:** a political term, used primarily in Europe, to describe a variant of Conservatism which concentrates more on national interests than standard Conservatism, while not being unduly Nationalist or pursuing an excessively far-right agenda.<sup>11</sup>

It is very difficult to define Nationalism and its different aspects because the subject matter here has the similarity in discussion in many aspects like race, religion, ethnic or culture. Nation is an object and recognizable thing which improve itself with the passage of time. The roots of the nationalism are existed in the pre historical period.

But some of the modern theorists believe that nationalism was started in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. They think that before 18<sup>th</sup> century there was just self and local interest. Nationalism for them was the result of the Industrial Revolution, the invention of printing press and growth of the capitalism awaked the people and made them realized to think about them and others like them with same culture and language and believes etc.

“Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner, argue that nationalism is a “socially constructed” phenomenon.”<sup>12</sup>

They believe that nationalism is human created and is impose on the people of a country just for the sake of social and political aims.

This faith does not show that this concept has no value, it is just supposed that there is no reality in this phenomenon which comes from the heart of the people of a country. As a political entity a nation should be concern that what the nation means. it must be the attitude of the identical linguistically and historically alike people. Because it is essential for their survival. In this regard literature plays a vital role to express the nationalism concepts in a good way. Literature give the power of speak to the nations and all nationalist movements because they have the way but they take guidelines from literature. On the web page it is described that:

“Post-revolutionary America, for instance, needed to come to terms with its independence, as well as to establish and put forward a national character. Washington Irving’s *The Sketchbook of Geoff Rey Crayon* (1819) depicts characters struggling with these ideas. In one of Irving’s most famous stories, “*Rip Van Winkle*,” the main character goes to sleep for 20 years and wakes up in a world unfamiliar to him. What was once

a pleasant, sleepy community now seems, to Rip, like a busy, contentious place, rife with disagreement. The American Revolution has taken place while he slept, but instead of focusing on political matters, Irving uses Rip to show the reader how daily life has changed in those lost years—daily life being more important than politics in the life of an ordinary man. This reading helped early Americans take a step toward defining the national character of the fledgling country; it also helped readers understand the pain of independence from the mother country.”<sup>13</sup>

The literature here in Pakistan has also the colours of nationalism and patriotism. The poets who belong to this land have a special soft corner in their heart for the people and nation of the country and they have played their role for the sake of their nation. They have painted their vision in the real shape of love for the nation, affection for the people and peace for the country. Ameer Hamza Khan Shenwari and Shah Abdul latif bhittai are amongst those poets who are Sufis in their thoughts and nationalist by nature. They both work for the insurance of love and peace for the nation and their homeland. They have their own philosophy of nationalism and patriotism. it is not found in any other Sufis in the world like they are Sufis and nationalism at a time. Hamza Shinwari has given the new style to the Sufism and Shah Latif used Sufism as a tool to convey the message of love for the nation.

Shah Abdul Latif’s poetry has the theme of life. He has chosen his poetic theme very carefully. He has selected these themes to lead the people towards the virtues and make sure that the humane should think about their creation and existences. Although he talk about the love and beauty with the virtues but he does not forget the colours of patriotism and nationalism. Because the said feelings are naturally exist. We may call him the true soul of the Land of Sindh. **Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti says:**

“The poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is divided into Surs. The word” Sur” means a mode of singing .In all there are 30 Surs in Shah Jo Risalo which are named according to their subject matter .If we study his poetry we clearly find him a nationalist, humanist

and poet whose stature is perhaps on par with the great poets of the world and in no way he is behind them, but yes of course at many places we find him ahead of them all. Much of Shah Bhitai's poetry expresses the individual seeking for God (Truth) in terms of well-known ballads and the negation of the ego.”<sup>14</sup>

Shah Latif does not force anyone to draw them towards those thoughts which he considered to be right in his own view. He motivates the people towards the truth and which give them enough wisdom to the nation that truth has its own price in the world. He does not want the blessing of wisdom from Allah because he knows the wiser people are wearing tears forever.

He advises the people to be always honest to the humanity and do not make differences among human and may always remain unite with people.

In this regard he states in Sur Yaman Kalyan:

“Look at the weaver,  
Delicate is their love,  
They join every day,  
And learn not to part,  
Sufi is not limited by religious bounds,  
He discloses not the war he wages in his mind,  
Helps and assists those who with him fight.”<sup>15</sup>

At another occasion he give the lesson of unity by giving the example of birds which fly together in folks with love and affection and the human does not do so. He just wants to convey the message of unity for the sake of the nation and homeland. The nationalist approach of the Shah is the unique in the theme where there is the concept of unity and love which directly inverse to the nationalism.

He states in one of his Sur:

“No one like Jakhro I can see  
On earth where're I gaze,  
The leader of all leaders, of  
Exalted status he-  
Two bows' length, even less, his place  
is from divine glory;  
O lord, greatly you favored me  
by giving me this guide!”<sup>16</sup>



And further he states:

“Oh leader, well your ways are known  
all over foreign lands;  
How many have you set on horse backs  
that had weary grown?  
You ask no faults of those who moan,  
But all you do accept!”<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand in his poetry Marvi is the symbolic representation of patriotism and nationalism. Marvi is from Thar who was kidnapped by Umar, the king who kidnapped her and then was forcing her to marry him. Marvi has refused the life style of the king Umar. She prefers her hut over the palace of Umer. Marvi says:

“Standing in prison tower  
I raised my face to my homeland;  
Looking out fell from my eyes  
Tears in torrential shower;  
A cry went from the heart  
Raising there keen and clamour;  
Ah Kith and Kin not ever  
Did care for me in their huts.”<sup>18</sup>

She throwaway Umar’s throne and started objections on this decision and then she started requesting him to set her free so she might go to her homeland back. Because She has love for her small beautiful village.

“O God! Be not so, that I die  
In this dark dismal prison;  
The body bound up in chains  
Day and night doth weep and cry  
O first to homeland go I  
Then come to end m days-over here.”<sup>19</sup>

These are some surs of the poetry of Shah Latif which show the love for the nation, homeland and own people. These lines are shown that the nationalism is the natural phenomenon and Shah is aware of the how to explore this concept positively in poetry. Now let’s see the

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nationalism of the Hamza Shinwari in his poetry. The Pukhtun poet Hamza Shinwari is the Father of the Pukhtu Ghazal, known for his Pukhtun Sufism in the whole Pukhtun society. As Sufism is his theme of the poetry but he concept of Nationalism is also clear and strong.

Hamza Shinwari is a poet, dramatist, humorist, lyricist, translator and broadcaster but in real he was the great humanist. Hamza Shinwari is the name of the great Pakhtun Poet who is known for his Ghazal, the great Baba of Pashtu Ghazal. His theme of poetry is not only love, peace, harmony and brotherhood but the Pashtun Sufism is also the main theme of his poetry. He is Pukhtun and he love his nation and homeland. He has the patriotic and national heart in his chest and sing for the sake of his People. He is strongly in favour of those who think about the humane and especially for his nation and homeland. His concept of nationalism is derived from Khushal Khan Khatkhat as he is the founder of nationalism in Pashto literature and gave the shine of Sufism to that nationalism. He is the inheritant of Khushal Khan Khatkhat in nationalism and inheritant of Raman Baba in Sufism.

Dawar Khan Dawood states,

"حمزه صېب چې د قومي او ملي اقدارو په وجه په پښتونخوا کښې کوم شهرت موندلې دے. هغه د يو شاعر هم تر اوسه نه دے نصيب شوی. حمزه صېب په دې حقله د خپل دور خپلې زمانې نه ډېر وړاندې تلې دے. هم دا د خوشحال خټک د قوميت او مليت تفکر او تخيل د حمزه صېب د رسا ذهن او ژور احساس يو دائمي اواز او افقي انگازه ده. دا دائمي او افقيت د هغه د فن د ارتقاء او جلالو ځلنده مثال دے.

د پښتني عشق دا سندرې او د پښتني مينې دا نغمې د دے د شعر او په تېره تېره د غزل روح دے. دے چې په دې عشق او دې مينه کښې د پښتون تهذيب، تمدن او ثقافت کومه عکاسي کړې ده. هغه لا تر اوسه چا په دې ډول نه ده

کړې" 20

**Translation:** No one except Hamza Shinwari is known for the nationalist approach in Pukhtunkhwa he is on the peak in this regard. That is Khushal Khatkhat vision of the nationalism, thought of the nation and imagination of nationalism which enlightened

the mind of Hamza . this the soul of his Pashtun love in his Ghazal.he sketched the real Pashtun cultural and civilized images in his poetry by the unique way.

Hamza Shinwari has the pure positive nationalist poet. His nationalism is not narrow minded he wants all the good things for his nation and for the humane as well.

Mr Javed Malik states

"بابا(حمزه) چي کوم حقوق د خپل قام د پاره غواړي. هغه د نورو قومونو د پاره هم غواړي. . . . د بابا قوميت بيخي د تعصب نه پاک دے." 21

**Translation:** Baba [Hamza Shinwari] wants equal right for his own nation and other nations as well. The nationalism of Baba has no narrow-mindedness.

Hamza Shinwari has clear concept on the nationalism and he knows that when a nation is not able to prove their identity they will not remain in the circle of other nations. His nationalism is purely expressed in his poetry like he says:

ما حمزه ته يشرېي باده خاونده  
په بناغلي پيمانه کښې د افغان راڼه 22

**Translation:** O'God! bless Hamza with in Afghan bowl,when you are blessing the Yasrabi Wine.

This verse from his poetry show his everlasting love for his nation and then he wish that when the wine of love is blessed to the Muslim nation he will be happy to take that in Pashtun bowl. That also show his patriotism and love for his mother land as well.

In another accession he express his view about his nation that he cannot bear the grieves of his nation, he states,

نور همه غمونه زه زغملې شم چې خه وي  
بس خو يو غمونه د افغان مه راڼه 23

**Translation:** I can bear all the grieves what it be, but donot give me the grieves of Aghans.

Hamza Shinwari approach of nationalism is purely based on Pashtunwali and has the theme of Islamic ideology and that make him different from all other poets. His Sufism is also purely Pukhtun and his Pashtunwali is the great subject of his poetry.

کور کښې مې که د زړه لږه برخه د قام شته دے  
ولې نو حطيم خو هم شامل دے په کعبه کښې<sup>24</sup>

**Translation:** If I have a small part in my heart for my nation, Hateem is also the part of Ka'aba.

Hamz Baba is the Nationalist sufi poet of Pashto he has taken the light of nationalism from that of the Quranic way of nationalism. He is the first Pukhtun poet who is Sufi as well as nationalist at a time. We are giving some examples from his poetry here:

رائي چي تاتري غوندي اوچت کړو وطن  
زلمو چي ايشيا کښې جنت کړو وطن  
تعمير چي ئې په خښتو د اسلام وکړو  
بښپرازه او آباد په پښتو پت کړو وطن<sup>25</sup>

**Translation:** O' the youth let's make our country prosperous and great in the whole Asia. Let's build it with the bricks of Islam and make it progressed with Pashto and Honour.

These verses and hundreds other has the theme of the real nationalism of Hamza Shinwari which is totally different from that of the Shah Latif. His Nationalism approach is folkloristic and Hamza Shinwari has the realistic alive nationalism in his poetry.

Sufism is the way of the human to God and Humane to humane for the sake of humanity, love peace and harmony. That way is to shower the blessing of God on the creature without any distinguish between the humane. Sufism is the way which is chosen by choice of the Sufi. The both said poets are the practical Sufis of their era. They have spread the message of love and

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affection in their poetry. On the other hand nationalism is the part of life of every human. That is the sign of identity. It is the important tool for the self-interest, it is also a policy which may be used for gaining the goals of the nation. Furthermore it is concerned with the development of the national identity. This is on the bases of culture, language, race, religion, political goals or a belief. The literature is one of the most important tool which can preserve the concept of nationalism. Both Hamza Shinwari and Shah Latif bhetai are the Sufis but they have also the view and vision of nationalism in their poetry. The said poets have used the ideology of their Sufism for the sake of their nation. They both have switched Sufism to nationalism in its original nature Which preserve the cultural values as well as the emotions of patriotism. They have the theme of Sufism ,love and harmony which are the core values of nationalism as well. In short the Pukhtun nationalist Sufi, Hamza Shinwari and the Sindhi Sufi nationalist ,Shah Latif have the realistic approach to humanity that's why we respect them being Sufis and own then being nationalist.

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**Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya; Literary and Pedagogical Services  
in the History of Indo-Pak, (1910-1979)**

Dr. Mohammad Sohail\*  
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**Abstract**

Education remained a hollow sphere of the Pakhtun nation as a whole in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in feudal mindset where all ease of life was available to them. It was for the sake of same attitude where parents started sending their children educated in the umbrella of integrated wholeness of the same class.

When Islamia College was established in 1910, it attracted so many families who can afford their child's education over there. The college received enormous recognition in the masses in short span of time due to favor from all sections of stakes. Actually, in the British Raj, it was Ross Keppel's idea undertaken by Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan and his colleagues. The British Regime made strong and ruinous attitude towards the formation of national schools, and favored institutions like Islamia College is still a question mark, as how they were in favor to educate the Pakhtun nation.

**Introduction**

Born in the Mohammadzai tribe in the house of Haji Mohammad Akram Khan on March 10, 1910, Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya opened his eyes in the village and streets of Utmanzai, Charsadda. He was

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sent to Islamia collegiate school in Peshawar, where he did his matriculation. Afterwards, he was admitted in Islamia College Peshawar for his FSc. It is quite mentioning that former President of Pakistan Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was his desk fellow in Islamia College Peshawar. But one decided to opt for the civil service and the other to take active participation in the freedom movement.<sup>1</sup>

It was during his college time when he took active participation in the freedom movement. The passion developed when freedom fighters made subscriptions for attending processions and meetings. Soon, he became in the hub of the British authorities. It was a time in his 2<sup>nd</sup> year, when he was blamed to throw stones on Ross Keppel's portrait in the Hostel. He was rusticated and was sent to jail. It proved the turning point of his life and he started his struggle in the freedom movement.<sup>2</sup>

He sacrificed his study on national interest and started awakening movement by writing pamphlets and booklets. In same mission, he started his own newspaper 'anger'. He also started writing patriotic poetry and plays, in which drama 'dard' received enormous recognition, both, in literature and freedom awakening movement. He wrote many rich historical dramas and poetry, but unfortunately, all his writing were seized to fire in the house of Azadi Kaka, his neighbor, in the period of the Khan Qayum regime.<sup>3</sup> It is quite mentioning that Amir Nawaz Khan handed over all his intellectual work to Azadi Kaka as fidelity. His political activities continued till the general election of 1970. He died on 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1979.

He was imprisoned so many times and suffered great hardships in jails. He was given harsher treatment in Pakistani jails after partition and had to say that 'the British jails were more humanitarian than Pakistani jails in treating prisoners.'<sup>4</sup>

### **Pamphlets of Jalya Khan**

Jalya Khan was under regular threat of the British authorities to be arrested. He escaped so many such attempts that were being made. At last, He was forced to disguise himself as a labor in



Peshawar city and then moved to Sukker (Sindh). During his disguise in Peshawar, he interacted so many times with Sanat Ram, later the friendship moved into business partnership with the Lakshmi art steam Press. According to Mirwais Khan- his son, he sold out all the jewelry of his wife to run the press and newspaper 'Angar'.<sup>5</sup> His first poster that was published was about the release of Bacha Khan. He warned the government to release Bacha Khan and his colleagues. He had also given an ultimatum to the Government, if a negative response was being made. The poetic verses of Jalya Khan made more attractive this pamphlet. This was a successful attempt in awakening the nation. This poster made the regime scared, and he was searched in everywhere. As a result Jalya Khan always remained off the screen, but his activities increased day by day.<sup>6</sup>

His poster then published in the name of Mr. Faizullah Khan for the purpose to safeguard the celebrity being arrested. But the language, style and poetic notion shows that it was Jalya Khan's art. His 'appeal to humanity' as a heading proved him a person above all kinds of prejudices.

The above post was written at the time when people were engaged in the destruction of the discotheque. The mission was under the caption of 'picketing'. During 'picketing' a group of people had to wreck the discotheque, in repercussion, they were either arrested or tortured brutally. People were regularly arrested and in reaction, pamphlets were published to boost their morals. Jalya Khan published his famous verses in the pamphlets like these;

*Ma jara dala dalta okhki toyul mana dee  
Da de qafas marghu da para shor kawal mana dee  
Sare che wajne zanawar, rombe oba warkawee  
Mung mazlomanu la oba hum warkol mana dee  
Pa gatu loto ki gauhar wu za khbar na wum  
Da zra pa wenu ki shar wu, za khbar na wum  
Tama me na w ache Pakhtun ba domra zan kree  
qurban  
Tale ki ekhe da khpal sar, za khbar na wum*

*Ma we Pakhtun ba pa nama we pate shwe we  
paktun  
Wale paki pat prot jauhar wu, za khbar na wum*

These poetic patriotic verses attracted the masses and had an effect of the heart touching blow on them. It was decided to publish all these verses to make it more public.<sup>7</sup>

He was so bold in publishing these pamphlets that once he published one against his own colleagues having the title of ‘Dwa darghjan Khudai Khidmatgars’- two lie telling Khudai Khidmatgars.<sup>8</sup>

After the Indo-Pak war of 1965, Jalya published a pamphlet having the title of ‘Alfozul Azeem’ meaning ‘A great success’. It shows his deep love to his country and nation.

### **Jalya Khan and drama ‘Dard’**

Jalya Khan remained close with Bacha Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Before Khudai Khidmatgar movement, he was an active member of the Anjuman-i- Islahul Afaghina- a movement for the reformation of Afghans. He was appointed as Secretary of the Anjuman, to look after all the Azad schools in the entire region. He had been clean observer watching dramas that were regularly staged at the annual meetings of Azad School Utmanzai from 1921 to 1930. Jalya Khan made great contribution to the freedom movement, when Bacha Khan was behind the bars.

He published two booklets ‘Dard’ and ‘Qanoon’. The booklet ‘Dard’ was published in January 1931. In this connection warrants of arrest were issued against Jalya Khan and Sant Ram, manager Lakashmi art steam press, Rawalpindi, Peshawar branch. After ‘Dard’ a poem of him was published in weekly ‘Angar’ in which his new style of expression attracted Southerland’s journal to republish it. It created a new chaos against British rule and finally on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1931 the government again steps forward against him.<sup>9</sup>

A report of the CID explains that Jalya is a red- shirt ex-student of Islamia College, Peshawar who has already published seditious booklets 'Dard' and 'Qanoon'. Another report in the same files elaborates that "... At Babara (Charsadda) a meeting of all freedom fighters was held at night between 24<sup>th</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1931. In this meeting drama of Jalya was staged and, according to CID report, it was based on the booklet published by Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya. According to reports, about 2000 to 3000 audiences were present. It had over at 1; 30 am. This had given a great awakening to the people."10

In another file it has been reported that "Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya is trying to convey his prescribed booklet 'dard' to Afridi and Mohmand country through village Kafoorderi and Shabqadar.."11 However, one of the participants who acted in the drama 'Dard', told it was staged on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1931.12 Ahmed (1991)13, explains that Bacha Khan along with other prominent Khudai Khidmatgars were in Karachi, Meanwhile, Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya, an educated youngster of Utmanzai, progressive, creative minded and smart person had published a booklet 'Dard' in which he presented the historical background of the freedom fighting process both in poetic and prose form. In this booklet, young Jalya has shown his full command over literature. The price of the booklet was two Annas *pennies*. This booklet was circulated in the whole of Pakhtunkhwa by Gul Rehman shopkeeper of safer Khel, Babara and Ahmed Kaka of Babara and about more than 1000 copies were sold. This happened in 1931.14

Ahmed Kaka (1991), further explained the story of selling the booklet. When he approached one of the feudal lords of the area, he refused to buy it and further told him that he had no interest in freedom of India. Upon the approach of another educated feudal who was barrister by profession, he refused to buy it on the pretext that he was ignorant of Pashtu language. However, on conveying the message of 'Dard', he wept bitterly and made a subscription of Rs 5. He also promised financial aid in the next meeting.15

The drama was assisted financially by seven persons providing all the apparatus and materials. The number of actors who acted in the play was 168 in number. The play was started by a sweet singer, singing the poem of Jalya Khan with some of the following verses.

*Da Har Sa na de hog, mata da khpal watan zama  
Qurban de she dad a na sar aw maal aw tan zama  
Da bal watan guluna rata khkare kharo khas  
Da khpal watan och dake de sarw o saman zama  
Zalima gote da zama na pre kre hagma dam  
Malmal che da dhake darta khkara shu fan zama*

According to Ahmed Kaka (1991), the drama started at 9.00 pm and ended at 12.30 am. The same night some unknown persons attacked Captain Bareness who was assistant commissioner Charsadda at 1.00 am. His watchmen exchanged some bullets of firing. The attacker escaped. Captain Bareness approached the deputy commissioner, Peshawar and informed him of the drama staged, and also told him that anti- Government poems were recited in the drama.<sup>16</sup>

He also told the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar that the drama had made the people so excited that they, in repercussion, attacked his bungalow. The deputy commissioner called upon Mr. Mian Said Ahmed Shah, who provided a written statement in this respect and warrants of arrest were issued against all the Khudai Khidmatgars. On the 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1931 Babara was besieged at night time. In the morning time, many people, including the participants of the drama were arrested from different villages like Babara, Utmanzai, Charsadda, Geedar and Mardan. All were sent to central jail, Peshawar. However, Jalya Khan was not amongst those perhaps escaped being arrested.<sup>17</sup>

The importance of the drama can be judged from the fact that, all the newspapers made front page coverage of it in all major cities of India. To know, how much, it was important for the authorities, the court proceeding were being published on a daily

basis. The Peshawar based daily ‘Angar’ owned by Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya, in an editorial page titled in words like” the drama ‘dard’ to be on the stage of the court”. Twelve persons were under trial and finally all of them were given six years of imprisonment. Lawyers and Barristers were invited from Lahore for appeals, but, to no result.<sup>18</sup>

Bacha Khan after his arrival from Karachi thanked Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya with the words. ‘I am so happy to see that Khudai Khidmatgar movement is recognized in all over India and even the center of Great Britan- London, which is so confused about. This drama has received great popularity’.<sup>19</sup>

Mohammad Aslam sharer, the resident editor, of daily ‘Angar’ was also arrested in the incident. This drama had a great communicative approach which made a superb effect on the masses. This shows ho Jalya had a firm control over the mass communications skills and psychology of the culture and traditions. It had more effect than a film of today. It was greatly traumatizing, artistically arranged and professionally presented.

The jail, court and village made for the stage drama looked so original, that fixed the audience puzzled. As compared to Abdul Akbar Khan, Akbar, who was also staging the dramas these days, the drama’ dard’ attracted much more audience. It was the art of Jalya, which attracted thousands. He selected night time in order to camouflage the Government and safeguard the audience. It was done, intelligently, as just half dozen participants were picked out by the police in 168. Interestingly, all the six were apprehended with the help of tout, who acted on stage himself.<sup>20</sup>

He disguised himself in such a way that the British authorities could not recognize him, despite keen surveillances. This, disguise, too, worked for other participants tactfully and skillfully.<sup>21</sup>

Describing the drama, Bacha Khan, in his autobiography explained,

.... “When I arrived from Karachi the conflict of a little drama staged at Babara by some school pupils was in full swing. When I saw the deputy commissioner, Peshawar I told him that children

are habitual of such like playing... the participants were arrested in the whole Charsadda. Besides, Babara was cordoned off by army....”<sup>22</sup>

The important thing about the drama, that the actors who represented in the play were all students of Azad School, started by Bacha Khan. It is explained by Bacha Khan himself in his autobiography.<sup>23</sup>

Amin (1991)<sup>24</sup> is of the view that due to jealousy and a personal conflict, Bacha Khan used words like ‘little drama’ for ‘Dard’. Nevertheless, the play was staged in 1931 and Bacha Khan written his autobiography in 1979. Bibi, M (2014)<sup>25</sup>, in a recorded interview explained that she and her father Fazli Raheem Saqi arranged the autobiography in Kabul in 1978.

There was nothing told by Bacha Khan in this wish, however Jalya Khan and his efforts were greatly prized by him.<sup>26</sup>

#### **Journal ‘Angar’ of Amir Nawaz khan Jalya**

The ‘angar’ was started in 1927, according to Khaliq (1970)<sup>27</sup>. Some other writer shows its date of appearance as 1930. Ahmed (1991), declared it a ‘daily’ to impart the Pakhtun nationalism. It was published both in Urdu and Pashtu languages. The list of archive records in Britain, Afghanistan, Germany and Japan shows it an all-important newspaper, however, for Pakhtuns, it continued with the undue justice of recognition and importance.

The publication record shows that, initially it was issued weekly. It was banned for so many times during four years of its publishing.<sup>28</sup> According to Mir Wais Khan, the son of Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya once the journal was discontinued, due to fiscal restraints. It was restarted after selling of all the ornaments of his wife. The paper had six pages, as evinced by the issue of July, 1931.

Baha, I (1979)<sup>29</sup> considers daily ‘Angar’ as a revolutionary, and took a pivotal part in the freedom movement. The journal began its journey in 1930, according to her. It brought out the news for five or six months. Syed Zia Jaffery was the editor of the Urdu section and Jalya Khan was honored with the Pashtu section.

Abdul Wadood Qamar was the assistant editor, who contributed rich columns. The newspaper supported the Red shirt movement and its agenda and policy. It bore on its revolutionary zeal.<sup>30</sup>

The journal 'Angar' was published during the period of 1927-1940. When published regularly, it was a daily newspaper; however, its irregular publication sometime shows it a weekly journal. Amin, L (1990), declares it as a radical journal, as proven by its name, which means 'sparkle'.<sup>31</sup>

The daily 'Angar' faced another rivalry and that was from intellectual circumstances. Sanobar Hussain alias Kakaji started another bilingual weekly magazine 'Sailab'. Kakaji was the preacher of the Lenin's philosophy, while Jalya was a nationalist. The poetic notion of the title page of the 'anger' shows it clearly.

*Oya zara selaba angar bande takkar khuree  
Bara da aw ka sellab de, da ba sar da sanoobar  
khuree*

(Seventy thousand fluxes collide with 'anger' whether it is Bara or sailab, it will collapse sanobar)

There was a background for the above poetic notion, the newspaper of Jalya used to be published from the press of a Sikh in Karimpura, Peshawar by a manual press. Historically proved, river Bara after flooding in the monsoon, never reached in the area of Karimpura. It presents the historical keen observations that were being made by Jalya. He had total command over the history of Pakhtunkhwa, as well as, on the poetic needs.<sup>32</sup>

#### **Jalya as secretary of Azad School Utmanzai**

Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya was appointed as secretary of the Azad School Utmanzai on June 8, 1935. It is reported by the CID, in July 1935, that he had replaced Mr. Taj Mohammad Khan. Later on, as secretary, he included two more instructors in the school that are Mr. Shad Mohammad of village Rajjar and Mr. Obaidullah Khan s/o Dr Khan Sahib.<sup>33</sup> He had also commanded over the management that the son of Dr. Khan was inclined for teaching, as well. The situation of the school was very miserable

during his tenure. The salaries were not paid to the teachers for three months. He decided to collect flour from ex-Red shirts workers at the rate of one quarter Kilogram per house in the Charsadda sub Division to meet the cost of the school expenses. This indicates his love and warmth for the success of the educational movement of Bacha Khan. It was the time when Bacha Khan and all his colleagues remained behind the bars.<sup>34</sup> He began calling the Red shirt workers for subscriptions before his assignment as secretary in the month of May, 1935.

Jalya Khan was appointed as secretary of Azad School Utmanzai on June 14, 1935 and he resigned from the slot on September 16, 1936, when he was unsuccessful to resolve rifts amongst the teachers.<sup>35</sup>

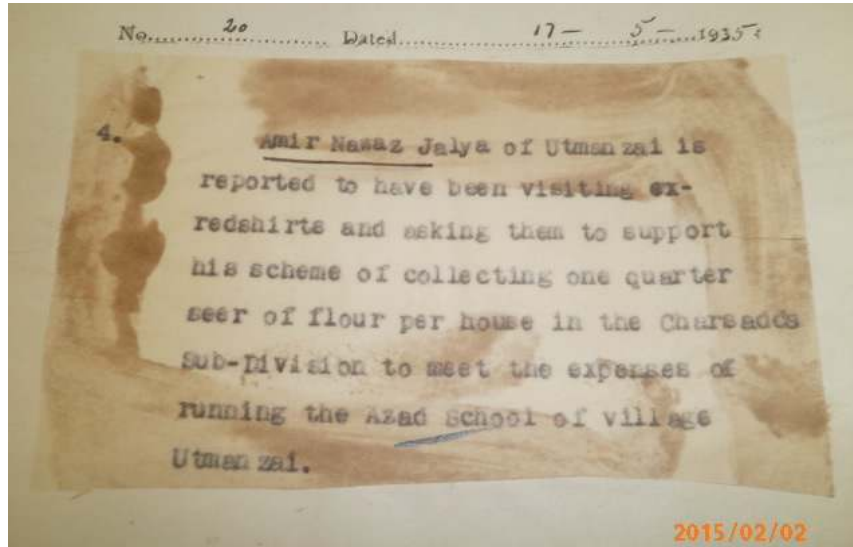
### Recognition of Jalya services by Bacha Khan

In the annual meeting of the Azad School Utmanzai on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945 Abdul Ghaffar Khan Akai Bacha Khan struck a medal of crescent and a star to Jalya Khan in his service with Khudai Khidmatgars. Master Karim the Headmaster of Azad School Utmanzai read out a certificate which was issued to Amir Nawaz Khan Jalya on November 19, 1942 for his bravery in occupying a post office in Peshawar city.<sup>36</sup>

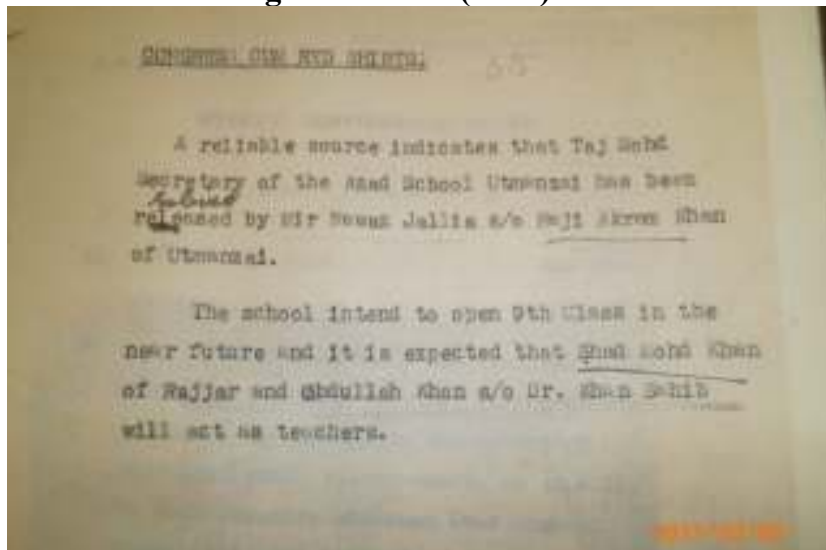


**Figure-5.1: Secret statement regarding visit of Amir Nawaz Jaliya's to an Azad School at Village Utmanzai (1935)**

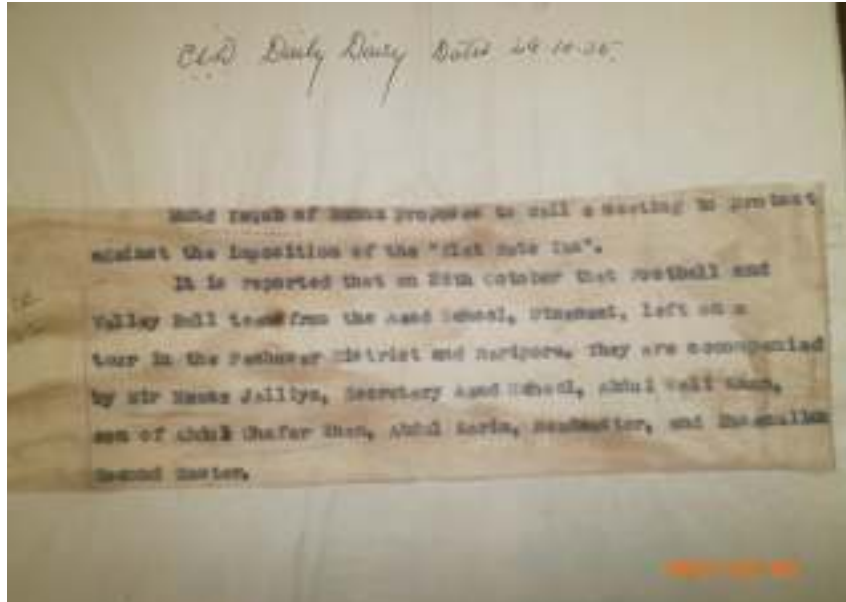




**Figure-5.2: Secret statement regarding visit of Amir Nawaz Jaliya's meeting with ex-redshirts regarding fund raising for Azad School at Village Utmanzai (1935)**



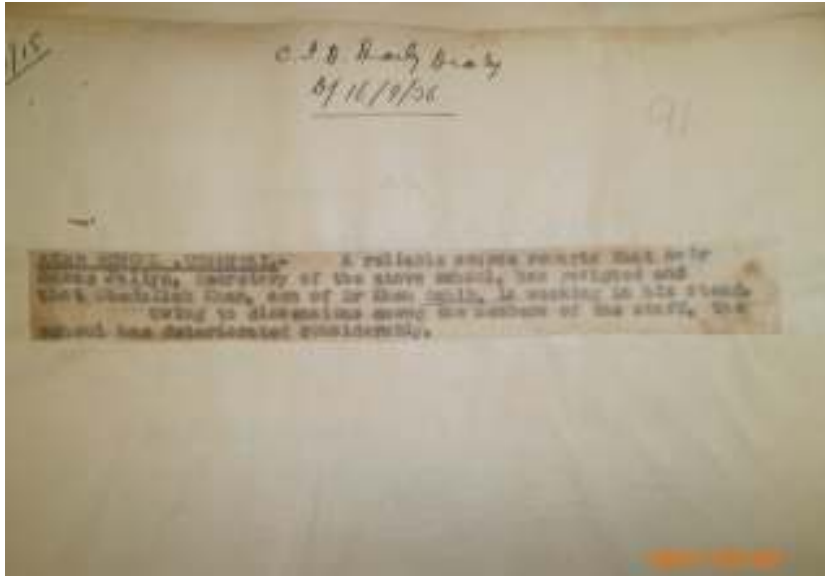
**Figure-5.3: Documents discussing meeting of Amir Nawaz Jaliya's and Taj Mohammad, Secretary Azad School at Village Utmanzai (1935)**



**Figure-5.4: Documents showing details about the visits of football and volleyball teams Azad School at Village Utmanzai (1935)**



**Figure-5.5: Secret statement regarding appointment of Amir Nawaz Jalliya's as Secretary, Azad School, Utmanzai (1935)**



**Figure-5.6: Secret statement regarding resignation of Amir Nawaz Jaliya’s as Secretary, Azad School, Utmanzai (1935)**



**Figure-5.7: Statement showing statement regarding the dispensing of Amir Nawaz Jaliya**

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25. Ibid,p.663

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  27. Mumlikat, B. (2015, July 22). Bacha Khan's book [Personal interview].
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## Review of the Bacha Khan's Vision of Alternative Education

**Ahmadullah Archiwal\***

It is commonplace to regard Bacha Khan and his movements as political, it is true they were political –all of us are political and what we do in our lives are political - however limited attention has been paid to Bacha Khan and his movements' educational aspect. Dr.Sohail Khan has made a timely effort to highlight educational aspect of Bacha Khan's efforts. His book Bacha Khan's vision of Alternative Education highlights Bacha Khan's educational undertakings during the reign of the British Raj in today's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Bacha Khan's Vision of Alternative Education is a thorough look at all the educational efforts made by Bacha Khan and his colleagues independently, at the outset, and from the platforms of Tanzem-e-Islahul Afaghina and Khudai Khidmatar later on collectively to educate Pashtun children in modern education. The book not only addresses the questions of educational approach of Bacha Khan and his comrades, the finances of the Azad schools, socio-economic and educational situation of Pashtuns at that time, curricula of the schools, but also the question of what it takes to start educating children of a major section of an ethnic group when the regime not only not support you but also suppress you and your followers for introducing social reform through education and other social activities.

The political and social affiliation of the author, Dr. Suhail Khan, Assistant Professor in the Department of Education and Chairman of Pashtu Department at Abdul Wali Khan Khan University in Mardan, with the founders of Khudai Khidmatgar as well as with Awami National Party (The Party which was established by the

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followers of Khudai Khidmatgar) and his academic background puts him in a stronger position and makes him a credible authority to easily collect data and present a factual picture of the struggle.

As far as I know, this is the first ever book solely been dedicated to the educational efforts made by Bacha Khan and his comrades. Bacha Khan and his movements are mostly seen as politicians and not educational reformers. It won't be wrong to argue that it is probably a coincidence that the book is launched in a situation when the Pashtun homeland face the same social problems that it was facing in the era of Khudai Khidmatgar. Some influential pundits are still opposed to the Pashtuns getting education and witness their language, culture and history being disfigured. Schools are burnt in the Pashtun land and all chances of development are snatched from them. On the other hand, it is surprising that Bacha Khan applied the approach of educating youths not only in modern sciences but also equipping them in vocational training almost eight decade ago. Western nations have been using the same method of education in their high schools but we are not using this method even today. The method, if followed by our educational institutions, will greatly reduce unemployment rate in our society. Adopting this method of education by Bacha Khan eight decades ago shows his farsightedness.

The writer's style of writing is compelling and non-judgmental. He has followed canons of research methods in doing his research. In addition to collecting data from the museums – from the newspapers, secret reports, and British officials' diaries - he has heavily relied on the primary data, interviewed ex- students and former teachers of Azad Madras's and has gathered information from the relevant academics as well.

The illustrations and statistics used in the book are extremely helpful in understanding the situation of that time and increases not only credibility of the book, unveil some very important facts but also shows the efforts that the author made in carrying out this huge undertaking. He, for the first time claims that 134 schools were established by Bacha Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar during their social reform activities. The author also reports that the

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Indian Prime Minister Manmohan was educated in Azad one of Azad Schools in Utmanzai. Unveiling such information shows the enormous zeal that he has for his work and hardships that he underwent in the course of this research. Compared to other books written on Bacha Khan's work, this book gives deeper understanding of the Khudai Khidmatgar's schools that Bacha Khan had established.

The author takes enormous efforts and travel to India, London and the most important places that he thinks has some valuable information of his interest in Pakistan to collect authentic information for the book.

However, there is room for further improvement in the book. Though facts have been well written in the book, in order for the readers to get deeper understanding of the topic I believe minor additions to the book will best serve the purpose and enhance usability of the book. The last chapter of the book needs to be replaced with a conclusion. Being an educationalist and involved in teaching for many years, Dr.Suhail is in a better position to evaluate Bacha Khan's approach of alternative education, its strength and weaknesses and tell the readers about his take away from the book in the new edition of the book.

Additionally, the book also needs to have the argument that the author wants to present to the readers. If this happens the readers will be able to clearly draw a line between a historical narration and critical evaluation of Bacha Khan's educational approach in the book.

Though the author has developed his PhD dissertation into a book, I believe that he should have and he has the liberty to change it to the book the way he wants.

One of the most important, implicit in presentation but academically priceless point that Bacha Khan's Vision of Alternative Education cements is that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was social in nature from the outset. This point belies all the claims made by the British Indian Government about the nature of the movement that justified their suppression of the movement by labeling it as a Bolshevik Political Movement.

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To close, the books has the potential to inflame further discussion on the topic and serve as a strong reference point for scholars and students interested in studying social movements in general and Khudai Khidmatgar and its contribution in educating youths of Pakhtunkhwa under the British Raj in particular.

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